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Protective Services For Older Adults

Patterns of Work and Welfare in AFDC

A Kindergarten for Appalachian Children

U.S.
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Protective Services For Older Adults

A Demonstration Project

James J. Burr

Adults, particularly "older" men and women, can need protective services just as much as children. Of course, the kinds of protective services each needs are not identical, but they are often similar, and the need can be as urgent for the older person as for the child. The neglected or abused child needs a good home, love, assurance, and kindness, and so does the neglected or abused adult. They both may need medical attention, and the courts may have to determine legal responsibility for a helpless adult as it would for a helpless child.

Many social service agencies do provide protective services for adults, though such services are neither so widespread nor so extensive as protective services for children. Because such services are urgently needed and certainly should be within the capacity of public welfare agencies to provide, the Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, recently supported and guided a demonstration project concerned with protective services for adults. Called the National Protective Service Project for Older Adults, the 3-year demonstration project was designed to point up how protective services for "older persons"—men and women 50 years old and over, including the blind and disabled—can be delivered. Running from July 1, 1967, to June 30, 1970, the project was conducted in two localities—one rural: Morgan, Weld, and Logan Counties, Colo.; the other urban: Washington, D.C. Each project operated independently. The two offer a model for State agencies in providing help to elderly persons who are in trouble or on the verge of trouble in their communities because they can no longer care or fend for themselves. Both projects concentrated on the more difficult and troublesome cases. Many of the persons served were resistive to services: that fact alone made their cases very difficult to handle.

The objectives of the National Protective Services Project for Older Adults ("national" because of its possible application nationwide) included these:

- To identify persons 50 years old or older, including aged blind and disabled persons, needing protective services and to establish the scope and range of protective services provided to meet their needs.
- To demonstrate new methods of providing social services to such persons who are public assistance recipients.
- To identify differences between urban and rural settings in providing such services.
- To demonstrate ways of fully using community resources and to enlist community resources in a comprehensive program of protective services.
- To obtain cost and other significant social data on the persons served that could be used by State agencies carrying out public assistance programs to establish protective services for elderly, blind, and disabled persons.

In addition, an informal goal of the project was to analyze and document the results of such services to show their effectiveness. In this instance, effectiveness of services was judged by improvements in the individual and social functioning of the persons served.

Social services were provided through special service units in each locality. These units were established to provide a wide range of services—social, health, and

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The project was supported by a grant under Sec. 1115 of the Social Security Act (Sec. 1115 authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to State public assistance agencies to cover the cost of pilot, experimental, or demonstration projects aimed at improving the family life of public assistance recipients and moving them toward self-support). It was initiated by the Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; continued under the Administration on Aging; and concluded under the Social and Rehabilitation Service.

legal—to elderly persons, including blind and disabled persons, selected by criteria established in the national demonstration plan. These criteria include the following:

Age: 50 years or over.

Serious functional impairment: mental, physical, or emotional (stress of circumstances).

Coverage: current, former, or potential recipients.

Proportional representation: recipients of old-age assistance (OAA), 75 percent; recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled (APTD), 21 percent; and recipients of aid to the blind (AB), 4 percent.

When applied to the two projects, *protective services* means the systematic use of social, health, and legal services and resources for and on behalf of seriously impaired adults, persons who are abused, isolated, or exploited, and who have no persons ready, willing, or able to assist them responsibly.

The size and composition of the special service units differed in the two projects. In Washington two special service units provided protective services: one located downtown in the commercial area, the other in a residential area with a high concentration of older persons. Each unit had a supervisor with professional training, two caseworkers, two case aides, and supporting clerical staffs. Homemaker service was provided through purchase from a private agency "as needed." Colorado set up three special service units in each of the principal towns of the three counties served under the supervision of a project director (and later a case supervisor). Each unit had a caseworker, a case aide, and a homemaker. The project director provided clerical support for each unit from his office.

Both projects had two special features. They used consultants—internists, psychiatrists, and lawyers—to help their staffs understand the problems of the elderly, and they had the use of a supplementary assistance fund to meet emergency and special needs. The consultants were used in several ways: they provided the initial orientation on the behavior of elderly persons to the project staffs, they participated in formal case conferences and helped workers with individual case problems, and they were available to each caseworker "as needed" in crises.

The supplementary fund was used sparingly in the rural area, where the regular monthly public assistance grant permitted elderly persons to live reasonably well. But such funds were used more liberally in the District, where monthly grants were much lower and expenses higher, as a supplement to the monthly assistance payment. A total of $25,000 was spent over the 3-year period by the demonstration project units to meet emergency and other special kinds of recipient need.

A particular feature of the 3-year demonstration project was the allocation of time: 6 months for planning, 24 months to provide service, and 6 months to end the project and write reports. Guidelines for administration, including criteria for selection of staff, selection of cases for services, evaluation, and reporting, were a part of the demonstration plan. Colorado and the District of Columbia agreed to use the Federal guidelines.

The protective service client—a profile

The persons served by the projects came to the units from three sources: the regular agency intake office, the active public assistance caseload and referrals, and voluntary agencies and persons. Of all cases accepted 75 percent came from public assistance agencies (50 percent were receiving OAA, 21 percent APTD, 3 percent AB, and 1 percent Medicare). Referrals from voluntary sources were greater in Washington, D.C., than in Colorado. Persons referred from voluntary agencies seemed to need protection more than those referred by public agencies.

The 373 persons served by the demonstration had a median age of 74 years. Their other main characteristics were as follows:

Characteristic	Percent
Sex	
Men	40
Women	60
Marital status	
Widowed	41
Married	20
Single	16
Separated or divorced	23
Ethnic background	
White	57
Negro	37
Spanish-speaking	4
Other	2
Living arrangements	
Alone	46
With husband or wife	19
With another person	29
In institution	1
Elsewhere	5
Mobility status	
Homebound	71
Mobile	19
No information	10

In addition, the major reasons for referral were incapacity for self-care (unable to carry out activities of daily living without help from others), personal disfunctioning (disordered behavior, defective judgment, danger to self, in conflict with the community), and social disfunctioning (unable to cope with external circumstances, harmful or hazardous living conditions, victimization or exploitation by others).

In effect, the persons served by the project had serious impairments in ability to function normally that prevented them from living normal lives. They were neglected, exploited, isolated. Many lived in harmful or hazardous surroundings. They were referred to the demonstration units because other agencies had found it difficult to impossible to provide the supports necessary to stabilize their lives. They were frightened people, often angry or hopeless. The task of the service units was to allay fears and anger and to restore hope as well as to stabilize their lives by providing appropriate community or other living arrangements; developing and expanding personal, family, or community relationships; or, if necessary, placing them under protective custody or in a protected living environment through the use of social or legally sanctioned facilities and resources.

The program in operation

Because the demonstration project operated in both a rural and an urban setting, results were not always similar.

The rural setting. Morgan, Weld, and Logan Counties are located in high farm country in northern Colorado. They are inhabited by hardy and self-reliant farmer-homesteaders. To need protection is contrary to their Western sense of "rugged individualism." Many would rather die than admit that they are no longer self-reliant. As a result, they are more tolerant of personal life styles or eccentricity than people in large cities might be.

The urban setting. Washington, D.C., the Nation's ninth largest city and its capital, for all its magnificence, has many large slum areas. In them old people live in deteriorating high-rent housing, often afraid to go out on the streets lest they be assaulted and robbed. Many came to the city years before from all parts of the country, particularly the rural South, to better their economic conditions. They are comprised of retired Government workers, domestic and service workers, and the survivors of small proprietors and artisans.

Organizing the project—rural area. The Colorado Department of Social Services sponsored the project and its field supervisor established it. The public welfare units in the three counties shared their difficult cases and resources, small though the latter were, with project staff members. At first, county workers viewed the project with suspicion, but once they were convinced of its usefulness, they supported it firmly and with respect. The project was organized in July 1967. The project director, located in Morgan County (Fort Morgan), supervised the three service units: one each in Fort Morgan; Greeley (Weld County), 54 miles to the west of Fort Morgan; and Sterling (Logan County), 45 miles to the east. The three units kept in constant communication by telephone.

Each outreach unit had its own office and a "team" of workers, consisting of a caseworker, a case aide, and a homemaker. All clerical support was provided at Fort Morgan. Each unit looked to the county department of welfare for case referrals. Some county resources served all three units.

By January 1968 the units were in operation—the staffs were on board and had completed initial training. However, it was a year later before the project director had a badly needed case supervisor to round out the staffing.

Organizing the project—urban setting. The Washington project was sponsored by the D.C. Department of Public Welfare (now the Department of Social Services). The Department's deputy director and the director of its Office of Aging (now Office of Services to the Aged) established the project under the supervision of the Public Assistance Division. Each of the project's two units had a supervisor with professional training, two caseworkers, and two case aides. The two units operated under the supervision of a professionally trained project director. Homemaker services were purchased "as needed" from a homemaker service agency. Clerical staff workers were assigned to each unit. The project began in July 1967 but did not get under way until April 1968. The main reason for the delay was the slowness of clearances for staff members under the District's civil service system.

Training in both areas. Plans were carried out in both areas for training staff members. The State Department took the lead in Colorado; the project director in the District. Both groups instituted formal training sessions as soon as the major staff positions were filled. Both used their professional consultants (internists, psychiatrists, and lawyers) in formal training sessions. This

method was very useful not only in establishing an appropriate climate for learning about the fields of medicine, psychiatry, and law but also in providing staff members with opportunities to learn how each profession views elderly persons and the protective services to be offered.

Staff knowledge and skill were increased through the method of case review used in both projects. In most instances workers, including the caseworker aides and, in Colorado, the homemaker, had to present their cases for review and group evaluation. The consultants were often present to provide expert opinions in solving case problems. This methodology, followed throughout the project, was one of the unusual features of the project used to increase staff insight and improve staff performance in helping elderly persons during the short duration of the service phase of the project (24 months).

Use of volunteers. Because of the emphasis that has been placed on the value of volunteers in providing services to the aged by the field, particular efforts were made to recruit them for the projects. The practical results were small for both units. Reports indicate that the characteristics of the persons served, the surroundings in which they lived, and the severity of problems encountered all militate against the use of volunteers.

Use of supplementary funds. About $25,000 was spent in the 3 years from the supplementary fund: $17,500 in the urban setting, $7,500 in the rural. The funds were frequently used in critical situations for medical care, rent, food, and medicine.

It is evident that the demonstrations provided a wide range of services to the aged, blind, and disabled persons served who needed protective services (however, not everyone needing services received them). These services were provided to a group of seriously impaired—physically, mentally, or emotionally--older adults. The goal of the service was to improve their physical health, mental health, living arrangements, and social situation, as part of the protective services.

The principal areas in which services were provided and the kinds of service activities carried out concerned housing, health—physical and mental—use of community resources, and financial assistance.

Housing services. The projects helped clients move from inadequate to suitable living arrangements; maintain and repair their homes; dispose of effects; and move to institutions when necessary.

Health services. The projects helped clients secure general health examinations, medical treatments, prescribed medication, and medical supplies; take preventive health measures; and obtain transportation to hospitals, clinics, and nursing homes.

Mental health services. The projects helped clients secure psychiatric examinations and treatment; personal or legal representatives to protect their money payments or social security benefits; or restitution of their civil rights after discharge from a mental institution; or obtain a companion to facilitate use of a treatment resource. Project staff members also arranged for guardianship or commitment to a mental institution when necessary.

Services to obtain other community resources. The projects helped clients enlist the support of relatives, friends, and other persons to assist them in planning necessary actions or to protect them (particularly against exploitation or neglect); secure transportation to and from institutions (hospitals and clinics, for instance) and community services (neighborhood service centers, for instance); secure (for the blind) talking books and records and instructions in braille; and improve social relationships through participation in community and recreation center activities.

Financial assistance. The projects helped clients get larger public assistance grants when they were so entitled; OASDI (old-age, survivors, and disability insurance) benefits or increases in OASDI benefits; other financial benefits or entitlements; and assistance in managing their money and receiving money from supplementary financial aid funds to purchase items not covered in their public assistance budgets.

The failure to meet all needs may be explained, in part, by the narrative reports of the two projects. These reports indicate that needs could not be met because of inadequate resources in certain areas (housing, for example); the reluctance of some agencies to accept certain welfare cases; agency preference for younger recipients; lack of money; applicant inability to meet agency eligibility requirements; and recipient rejection of services. As to the last item, the greatest recipient resistance was to accepting institutional care. There is no evidence in the records, narrative reports, or evaluative reports that the failure to provide service was due to lack of effort or initiative on the part of project staff members.

Homemaker services. During the course of the projects, 27 percent of the recipients received homemaker services. These services were, in order of frequency, as

follows: household management, personal care, meal planning and preparation, shopping, transportation, "other," laundry, budgeting, and clothing care and repair.

In general, homemaker services were provided for short periods and during crises when a recipient was temporarily unable to manage household affairs such as food preparation or personal care. In a few cases homemaker services were continued for a long time (2 years in one case) to enable persons who strongly resisted institutional care to continue living in their own homes.

Length of services. Half the recipients received services for 5 months or less; a quarter for 10 months or less.

Evaluation of effects

A number of methods were used to evaluate the effects of the social services provided. The first was the opinion of the workers. To obtain their opinions, they were asked, at different times, to describe the extent to which they felt that service needs were met or unmet. They were also asked to record how successful they thought cases were at termination and how nearly adequate services were (case management). The percentage of workers who assessed the program negatively was quite uniform for the three aspects, as these figures show:

Need not met ..... 27 percent
Unsuccessful termination ..... 35 percent
Inadequate service ..... 35 percent

These separate opinions obviously support each other concerning the extent to which services were successful or unsuccessful.

A more specific measure than the workers' opinions was that of changes in the client's functional level before and after service. Separate ratings of 14 items of client functioning were obtained periodically in the course of providing services (over a 2-year period), and the initial and final ratings were compared.

These 14 items, grouped into larger categories, are outlined in the appendix to this article. They deal with aspects of the client's societal circumstances (social condition and attitudes) and his personal functioning (performance and emotional level). When the initial "profiles" of client functioning were examined for changes after service, significantly more clients who had received the services they needed had improved than those who had not. Improvement was especially marked in the clients for whom additional help was obtained by the project worker from the community in the form of environmental supports, that is, better housing in less crowded neighborhoods. See the table.

Percentage of clients with improved profiles at end of study: those receiving services compared to those not receiving them

Field of service	Percent receiving services needed	Percent not receiving services needed
Housing assistance	36	28
Physical health service . . .	33	24
Mental health services . . .	34	20
Social resource services . . .	36	17
Financial assistance	34	26

The period over which services were received was significant. For the cases that showed improvement, great initial improvement appeared within the first 3 months, especially in the suitability of living arrangements and the client's satisfaction with his circumstances.

However, a greater and high rate of improvement showed consistently for those cases receiving service for longer than 3 months than for a briefer time. The most headway was made in increasing the client's willingness to use other available community aids and in the extent of assistance given by relatives and friends.

After 6 months' service the level and rate of improvement were sustained, particularly in the profile ratings for "dependency" of the client and in physical functioning. A substantially larger percentage of clients showed improvement in all aspects rated at the end of more than 6 months' service than in the first 3.

The table gives combined data on the 66 service items that were compared against improvement in profiles. On an item-by-item basis, 55 of the 66 services related to positive changes in profiles at statistically significant levels. Although the percentage differences may not appear great, the fact that statistical tests of significance showed a relationship in at least 95 out of 100 cases permits a conclusive statement that service affected the

level of functioning of the persons served. (Many of the relationships were at the .001 level of significance.)

Termination of services. The three most frequent reasons for terminating cases for both projects were successful completion of service (35 percent); other reasons—death, moved away, admitted to mental hospital, withdrew, ineligible, and objections of relatives (51 percent); and end of the project (14 percent).

Cost of project protective services

The total administrative costs for the two local demonstrations amounted to a little over $658,000. Of this amount almost two-thirds (64.2 percent, or $422,700) were expended by the urban program, which served 233 persons, and the remaining $235,300 (or 35.8 percent) by the rural program, which served 140 persons.

The unit cost, defined as the cost of providing services to one case for one month, was $216.45 for fiscal year 1968, $190.36 for fiscal year 1969, and $222.71 for fiscal year 1970.

Installation of such units statewide, using common administrative support services, would undoubtedly reduce these high costs. Nevertheless, these costs are not so high as the cost of the alternative—placement in a medical institution or a skilled nursing home.

Implications for State programs

Though this service delivery model will need to be tested further before it is accepted as a Federal model, the findings of the two demonstrations have considerable implications for States considering establishing protective services programs for elderly persons.

The National Service Project for Older Adults accomplished the following:

- Suggested a practical and effective instrument for providing protective services to elderly persons, namely, a special service unit.
- Demonstrated the value of team work among professional and paraprofessional workers in service delivery.
- Identified the characteristics of persons needing protective services.
- Identified, in rank order, the services most needed by elderly persons needing protection.
- Demonstrated the value of professional consultation in medicine, psychiatry, and law to service staff members of protective service programs.
- Demonstrated the value of supplemental funds, immediately available to the protective service unit, in crises and emergencies requiring instant assistance to support a service plan.
- Identified the unit cost of such services as a planning guide.
- Identified barriers to the delivery of protective service and suggested solutions.
- Demonstrated the effectiveness of services to prevent a recipient's ability to function socially and personally from declining and to improve that ability.
- Described the characteristics and contents of staff development activities necessary to prepare staff members to carry out protective services.

APPENDIX. ITEMS OF INDIVIDUAL FUNCTIONING

Social functioning

- Social condition
- Suitability of living arrangements
- Assistance from others

Social attitudes

- Willingness to use social, health, legal, and other community resources
- Satisfaction with living arrangements
- Satisfaction with present lot

Personal functioning

Performance level

- Management of home and personal life
- Physical functioning

Emotional level

- Dependency
- Orientation to time and place
- Mental and emotional adjustment
- Involvement with others in satisfactory relationships

Patterns of Work and Welfare in AFDC

Mildred Rein and
Barbara Wishnov

Only within the last few years has the employment of AFDC mothers become an issue. When the AFDC (aid to families with dependent children) program started in 1935, most recipients were the children of widows, and, like its predecessor Mothers' Pensions, the program had the explicit function of keeping the mother out of the labor force and in the home to better raise her fatherless children. Early studies of AFDC indicate that the primary interest was the welfare or progress of AFDC children, who, together with their widowed mothers, clearly comprised a segment of the "deserving poor." In fact, the progress made by children in recipient homes was attributed to the beneficial effects of stable income from AFDC, and continuous periods of assistance were considered desirable for their welfare.

But the AFDC family has changed since 1935. In 1950 the father was deceased in as few as 18 percent of the families; in 1961 in only 6.8 percent; and in 1967 in only 5.5 percent.[1] Similarly, in 1950 mothers who were divorced, separated, deserted, or unmarried accounted for 37 percent of the caseload; in 1961, 57 percent; and in 1967, 70 percent.[2]

In addition to the statistical signs of family "disorganization," AFDC families began demonstrating "problem behavior." Buell in 1951 discovered that a small proportion of poor families were absorbing a large proportion of social welfare resources.[3] Burgess and Price in a 1960 study list child neglect, promiscuity, desertion, and alcoholism as behavioral problems among AFDC families, now known as multiproblem families.[4] Perhaps even more important than the change in the composition of the caseload was its growing size. The number of recipients increased, nationally, from two million in 1950 to three million in 1960, to over nine million in 1970, and to over 10 million in (April) 1971.[5]

Over the years in the population at large, it has become more and more acceptable for women, including mothers, to work outside the home. In 1970, 43 percent of all U.S. women were in the labor force, as contrasted with only 38 percent in 1960.[6] The War on Poverty, branding poverty and dependency as undesirable states, offered jobs as the panacea to cure these ills and centered much attention on employment for public assistance recipients.

The 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act placed a work requirement on some AFDC recipients and authorized a cash incentive for employment (the first $30 earned per month by an AFDC mother can now be kept without the penalty of grant reduction, and an additional third of earned income can also be disregarded). The growing importance of work for both women and poor persons, coupled with an AFDC population that was growing both in numbers and family disorganization, apparently led to the Congress' interest in the employment of AFDC mothers.

A theory of work and welfare

Coupled with the original intent of the AFDC program that mothers not work is the pervasive belief that they, indeed, *do* not work. Although a national study conducted in 1950 uncovered a substantial work history for AFDC "caretakers," the data did little to change the image of a homebound mother who had never worked and who was and would forever be dependent on public assistance.

But as it became functional to think of AFDC women as more than homebound, it was discovered that such women work before, after, and while on public assistance. Rein and Miller in 1968, drawing their data from

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This article is based on data collected as background for, and preliminary to, an empirical study entitled "Work and Welfare in AFDC," conducted by the Institute. Martin D. Lowenthal is the principal investigator; Mrs. Rein and Miss Wishnov are project directors.

two national studies, pointed out that AFDC women have a substantial work history even while receiving aid. They tied their finding in with the idea of an "irregular economy of poverty areas" that provides mainly low paid, marginal, and part-time employment to slum dwellers and that dictates certain irregular patterns of employment. They concluded: "Public assistance often served as a form of wage supplementation for the low-paid, partially employed worker. Welfare status did not necessarily represent a sharp break with the labor force, as the theory of assistance would imply."[7]

Carter, at about the same time, noted that some AFDC women used public assistance sporadically or episodically to substitute for the loss of other income, especially income from employment. She says that it is a mistake to think of these families (as had been done) as "spiraling downward through ever-increasing amounts of deterioration brought on by self-induced crises that lead to public assistance."[8] Instead, she says, they use public assistance in conjunction with work at different times and in different ways, their actions being more reflective of an irregular job economy than of personal failure.

Empirical studies like Bernard's (1964) discovered that "AFDC operates as an important buttress to the labor market in providing income to a significant group of families who occupy the lowest level of the occupational structure."[9] More recently (1970) Valentine, who is studying 80 ghetto families intensively in a participant ethnographical study, suggests that "under fluctuating and marginal economic conditions the actual sources of general subsistence and occasional surplus become multiple, varied, and rapidly shifting... a great many individuals manage to garner small increments of income from several or numerous different origins.... For most citizens it is impossible to receive an adequate income without combining both wages and welfare or other resources."[10]

The welfare pattern

The image we get from these accounts is of an interlacing of work and welfare and other resources in the lives of the very poor to effect an unstable and irregular kind of income maintenance. But how does public assistance fit into this economic picture? If it is, indeed, used as an alternative or supplement to work in the irregular economy, this fact will be reflected in program statistics for case turnover (likely to be high), duration of periods of assistance (likely to be short), number of periods of assistance (likely to be large), and reasons for opening and closing cases. "The game of musical chairs played by new cases, previous cases that return, and cases that close for a while or for good, reflects the interaction of the welfare system with the unstable employment conditions of the irregular, dead-end job economy available to them."[11]

Grigsby, in a study of Baltimore, 1960-66, verifies this suspicion: in this 6-year period, 28,000 different families had received AFDC, or 75 percent more families than had received it for a single year. Only 2,000 of these families were continuously on public assistance; 24,000 were on-again, off-again; and "nearly all of the 28,000 constituted a permanent population at risk."[12] Grigsby's findings are supported by those of a study conducted by Greenleigh Associates in Washington State in 1964 in which 75 percent of all cases had been opened and closed before their current period on AFDC.[13]

National studies that are conducted at only one point in time and include rural as well as metropolitan areas (in the Washington study over 78 percent of the respondents were city dwellers)[14] show lower recidivist figures. In 1960 the Burgess and Price cross-country survey found that 36 percent of the families studied had received AFDC previously.[15] In 1961 the national study conducted by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) found that 33 percent of current cases had been opened before;[16] in 1967, 39 percent;[17] and in 1969, 38 percent.[18] Nationally, therefore, at least a third of the AFDC caseload "turns over;" in metropolitan areas the number is probably much higher.

For this to be a viable pattern, recipients will have been receiving AFDC for short rather than long periods. In a 1950 national study, Blackwell and Gould found that 20 percent of AFDC cases had terminated within a year and 50 percent within 2 years; only 11 percent had been "on" 7 years or more.[19] In 1960 Burgess and Price found that 23 percent of AFDC families had received AFDC for under 2 years, 40 percent for 2 or more years, and 12 percent for 7 or more years.[20] The 1961 HEW national study reported that 31 percent of all AFDC families had received aid for less than a year and 16 percent for 1 to 2 years—thus, almost half fell into the category "under two years."[21] HEW's 1967 study found that 17 percent of the families had been on AFDC for 6 months since the most recent opening, 18 percent for 1 year but less than 2, 11 percent for 2 years but less than 3, only 8 percent between 7 and 10 years, and only 8 percent for over 10 years.[22] The 1967 Washington State study gives similar figures: 20 percent of AFDC recipients had been on less than 6 months, 37 percent less

than a year, 55 percent less than 2 years, 79 percent less than 5 years, and 92 percent less than 10.[23] HEW's 1969 study lists 32 percent of all AFDC families as having received assistance less than a year and 51 percent less than 2 years.[24]

All figures show that persons receiving AFDC *continuously* for long periods of time comprise a very small part of the total caseload. The old image of "forever dependent families" has had to be modified to include periods of independence. The *median* length of time on public assistance has centered on a 2-year period since 1950, with very little variation. But short periods of assistance do not mean that each family receives aid for one short period only. To take the idea of interspersed periods of work and welfare further, a proportion of the same families goes back and forth from one to the other. This fact is reflected in data on the number of case openings and closings or periods of assistance for the same families.

The first major national effort to consider this issue was the Burgess and Price study, which cited 19 percent of its sample as having had one closing previous to the time of the study, 7 percent two previous closings, 3 percent three previous closings, and 4 percent four or more.[25] In 1961, 20 percent of the cases in the national sample had been opened once before, 7 percent twice before, and 5 percent three or more times before.[26] Greenleigh Associates found an even higher figure of previous openings: 24 percent had one previous opening, 11 percent two, 12 percent three, 7 percent four, and as much as 20 percent five or more.[27] Grigsby's findings, though put in a different cast, are even more revealing. Of all the AFDC closings in Baltimore in 1960, 65 percent had been reopened by 1963. Of all the 1963 closings, 35 percent were reopened within 3 months.[28]

The part of the caseload that is in flux includes a group of recipients who follow a pattern of going on and off welfare. It is not equally clear what proportion of these cases are opened or closed *for reasons of employment.* Blackwell and Gould in 1950 show that 25 percent of their sample of closed cases were closed because of the "employment or increased earnings of one or more (other than the father) members of the family."[29] In 1960 Burgess and Price gave 10 percent of their cases as having been closed because of the "employment or increased earnings of the mother."[30] According to a 1969 HEW study, in the first half of that year, nearly 13.6 percent of closings were due to the mother's employment or increased earnings.[31]

These figures, though illuminating, do not tell the whole story. For example, in the Burgess and Price study, of the cases with insufficient income when AFDC ended, 17.5 percent of the mothers said they would try to get jobs.[32] In addition, reasons for closing cases (other than for employment) such as "absent-parent returned," "youngest child reached age 18," and "failure to comply with agency policy" do not indicate the future source of income of these families and may portend employment for the mother, especially when other alternatives fail. In other words, the feasibility of employment *after* the case is closed, rather than exactly at the point of termination, is present, though this pattern would not show up in closing statistics.

Similarly, Greenleigh Associates give "loss of employment" as the reason for *opening* cases in 10.6 percent of the cases they studied; but they also indicate that an additional 9.1 percent were opened because the mother was pregnant and 5.3 percent because of the "incapacity or illness of the homemaker." Mothers may have been employed though they were pregnant or ill.[33] HEW's national sample for January-June 1969 found that in 8.2 percent of the cases the reason for opening was "lay-off, discharge, or other reason" and in 9.4 percent "illness, injury or other impairment." Just over 10 percent of the cases were opened because the families were "living below agency standards"—a possible code for hidden employment.[34]

The pattern that emerges from these statistics indicates that there is a small group of "stable" AFDC families that uses public assistance continuously and a large group that rotates between being on and off. The data also show that a certain number of cases are opened and closed for reasons of employment and that this number may be even larger than is apparent. There is no certain way of conclusively linking these two phenomena of "on and off welfare" and employment, given the current state of the data, but the assumption can well be made that at least a substantial number of the rotating cases actually do or could fall into the category of "opened and closed for reasons of employment."

The work pattern

If the thesis is true that AFDC women work to a substantial extent and irregularly, studies that have considered this issue, however few they be, will illustrate it. The Blackwell and Gould 1950 survey considered work both before and during public assistance and found that half the mothers had a "usual occupation" during the crisis period—the time preceding application for AFDC—that is, not all were employed precisely at that time, but about half were usually employed. About a

third were actually employed during the crisis period, 11 percent full time, and 17 percent part time; 3 percent were "in other employment status," that is, in sporadic work, which might also be part time or full time or seasonal.[35] Some of the changes that occurred between both periods were in the full-time employment group, which decreased from 11 to 5 percent, and in the "other employment status" group, which increased from 3 to 7 percent. But fully a third of the mothers had worked at some time both before and during the receipt of AFDC.[36]

The irregularity of the employment is attested to on several counts. Of the mothers who worked full time during both periods, only half worked throughout the period; the other half worked only "most of the period." Similarly, in the part-time category, only half worked throughout both periods. Under "other employment status," an even greater degree of irregularity is found. The fact that this kind of employment—sporadic, either full or part time—increased while on AFDC may indicate that public assistance is a supplementary benefit to this kind of work more often than regular work. The data indicate that "irregular employment characterized many of these homemakers."[37]

The patterns of employment uncovered by Burgess and Price in their 1950 study are almost identical: about half of the AFDC "homemakers" worked regularly and about half irregularly, both full and part time. In addition to actual work, however, they found that 16 percent of the homemakers said they had looked for employment and had not found it during the AFDC period.[38]

Some changes occurring between both periods (before and after public assistance) include these: the full-time component dropped from 13 to 9 percent of the total; of the mothers who were working full time in a regular capacity before receiving AFDC, only 50 percent continued to be so employed during receipt of AFDC; 10 percent started to work "full-time most of period;" about 10 percent worked part time both regularly and irregularly; 6 percent went into "other employment status;" and 26 percent stopped all work.[39] Burgess and Price attribute these changes to either of two possibilities: the mothers voluntarily reduced their work loads to be at home or they lost their employment.

The other category that changed the most between the periods was "other employment status"—the category with the most irregular employment patterns. Here the reverse happened. As in 1950, this category increased from 3 to 7 percent of the total. Of those who were originally in this group, 44 percent still were and 46 percent were no longer employed. The size of this group increased mainly through the addition of former full-time workers and, to a smaller extent, former part-time regular workers and unemployed women.[40]

Though the same proportion of women (30 percent) both before and while receiving AFDC had some work experience, "other employment status" was the smallest of all work categories (2.7 percent) in the crisis period but the next to largest (6.8 percent) during the receipt of AFDC, only "part-time most of the period" (an almost equally irregular type of employment) being higher (8.7 percent).[41] Apparently, highly irregular employment is consistent with the receipt of AFDC and may help "round out" a welfare income, in addition to being used as an alternative to public assistance during certain periods in the lives of welfare recipients.

The Washington State study shows that 8 percent of the AFDC respondents had income from work, amounting to an average wage of $77 per month. Aside from legal support orders, this was the source of most income for these recipients.[42] More to the point is the employment pattern indicated by data on the length of time women had been on their last jobs and in the labor market. It presents a picture of long association with the labor market but short employment periods. Fully 52 percent had been on their last jobs for less than 6 months, but only 9 percent had been in the labor market for so short a period. Fully 60 percent had been at their last jobs for less than a year, but only 15 percent had been in the labor market so short a time. A full 43 percent had been in the labor market for 5 to 10 years or more, but only 7 percent had been at their last jobs so long.[43] These data seem to show a pattern of discontinuous periods of work.

The 1967 study of AFDC mothers in New York City shows that they had done a large degree of work at various times. About a third had worked only before their first child was born, another third had worked both before and after, and 22 percent had worked after the first child was born. All in all, as many as 85 percent had worked at some time, meaning that only 15 percent had never worked.[44] Although the work pattern was not studied, the length of time worked was as follows: 9 percent had worked for under a year, 21 percent for 1 to 3 years, 22 percent for 3 to 6 years, 20 percent for 6 to 10 years, and as many as 28 percent for over 10 years.[45] They had, indeed, a great deal of work experience. The

data, however, do not illustrate the irregularity of this experience—whether it was part time, full time, sporadic, seasonal, or even less regular. But if these were current AFDC recipients, 85 percent of whom had work experience and many of whom had ostensibly been on assistance at previous times, the confluence of work and public assistance patterns seems very likely.

Goodman's data are consistent with the hypothesis that one segment of recipients intersperses periods of work and public assistance. In his study of a national sample of over 11,000 respondents (active, closed, and ineligible AFDC cases) during a 37-month period from 1965 to 1968, he found a good deal of employment was interlaced with public assistance as either concurrent or alternate forms of income maintenance. More than half the respondents had been at work at some time during the 3-year period. Only a third of those who worked had received no public assistance, another third had received AFDC during the entire working period, and the remaining third had received assistance during part of the 3-year period. For two-thirds of this group, work and public assistance were combined in some way to afford an income. Of those who had received public assistance throughout, two-thirds had not worked during this time and the other third had worked varying numbers of months. Nine percent of the latter group had worked during all 37 months. Furthermore, of the active cases, only 48 percent had had no periods of employment during the 37 months, but 35 percent had had one period of employment, 10 percent two, and 5 percent three or more.[46]

This discontinuous work pattern may, in actuality, have been even more irregular than is apparent. The study failed to obtain information from the respondents regarding whether they worked part time or full time during the months worked and whether they worked during the entire month in question. The fact that 31 percent of those who were working at the time of the interview were working part time seems to indicate that the same may be true for the previous 3 years. Goodman's interpretation of the data to mean "steady employment is uncharacteristic of the recent lives of most of the respondents"[47] is consistent with the theoretical framework dealing with the use of work and public assistance discussed earlier. His study also found that respondents had periods of neither work nor public assistance nor husband's support as a means of maintenance. Valentine's statement comes to mind—people living under marginal economic conditions acquire small amounts of income from different sources and the "actual sources of general subsistence and occasional surplus become multiple, varied, and rapidly shifting."[48]

Implications

Public assistance policy since 1967 condones and almost encourages work for AFDC mothers. However, in contrast to the image of AFDC women as a continuously dependent, never-working group, patterns of work do exist and some form of attachment to the labor force is present in most cases. Naturally, of this attachment is tenuous and is to kinds of jobs different from those usual for most working people. The jobs may be intermittent or seasonal or part time or afford a few days a week of work or a few hours here and there. Such jobs require little skill and, probably, in most instances yield little pay.

Because of its irregularity, attachment to this kind of job market almost dictates a certain flexibility in disclosure. Jobs of this kind are difficult to report and advantageous to keep hidden (aside from the obvious benefits to unbudgeted income, there is also the "plus" of no work deductions). If this group, because it is caught in a fluctuating economy, accumulates small amounts of income from various sources, incomplete disclosure of resources and amount of work would be consistent with this aim.

From the vantage point of the welfare system, work is to be encouraged, and certain incentive features have been incorporated into budgeting procedure as a result of the 1967 amendments (described earlier). This, coupled with certain benefits in kind such as food stamps and Medicaid, have brought the public assistance payment to the point where it is competitive with wages, especially the meager wages paid by the low-skilled job market. As a result, the incentive system has made it even more difficult for recipients to "work themselves off welfare." The proportion of AFDC women who are both at work and receiving public assistance at the same time (overtly) has remained the same since 1967, and case closings for employment have not increased.

ANY EFFORT TO PROPEL AFDC MOTHERS toward employment will have to make provision for jobs offering wages that compete with "work and welfare." They will have to be regular enough, steady enough, and yield enough pay to override some of the secondary benefits inherent in present ways of coping with income maintenance such as flexibility to move between work

and welfare, the security of welfare payments, the potential for incomplete disclosure of resources, and minimal demands of irregular type jobs. Employment policy may also have to take into account elements of recipient life styles that are related to present means of income retrieval and that may be initially recalcitrant to new and different job opportunities.

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[15] *Burgess and Price, op. cit., p. 48..*

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[17] Findings of the 1967 AFDC Study, *op. cit., table 12.*

[18] *National Center for Social Statistics,* Preliminary Report of Findings—1969 AFDC Study *(Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service), Mar. 1970, table 10.*

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[21] Findings of the 1968 AFDC Study, *op. cit., table 11.*

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[23] *Greenleigh Associates, op. cit., p. 34, table 11.*

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[26] Characteristics of Families Receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children, November-December 1961, *op. cit., table 6.*

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[28] *William G. Grigsby, op. cit., p. 8.*

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Effects of an OEO Kindergarten on Appalachian Children

Paul Street

IN THE SPRING OF 1965, the community action council of Knox County, Ky., an area located on the western fringe of the Appalachians, started an Early Childhood Program for preschool children. The council, an organization supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), established 14 community centers in isolated and scattered hollows throughout the county. The centers were refurbished schoolhouses or former residences equipped with central heating, plumbing, kitchens, and indoor toilet facilities. A room in each was set aside for the preschool program and furnished with small cots, cloak compartments, and kindergarten play equipment. Here an 11 month, 4-days-a-week, 6-hours-a-day program was conducted for 3- to 5-year-old children as part of a broad attack on poverty.

The children came by jeep-type buses usually driven by parents. The centers offered typical kindergarten activities, but the program differed from the typical kindergarten in that it provided a longer day, a shorter week, and a hot lunch for the children. In the beginning 22 children were accepted at each center; the number was later reduced to 17 for each. Subsequently, also, the day was shortened to 4 hours. The changes were made because of the limits set on funds and to reduce the attendance load. The children attended in two overlapping—for lunch—periods of 4 hours each.

Each child attended for 11 months. Most, but not all, were about 5 years old when entering the program and went from the kindergarten to the first grade.

The working philosophy behind the centers sprung from concern for the general growth of the child: his health, social and emotional adjustment, orientation to an expanding environment, and reading readiness. Teachers were either duly certified as meeting Kentucky's standards for elementary schoolteachers or were equally qualified in fields such as social work or psychology. Teacher aides, usually parents, acted as assistants in a deliberate attempt to develop local human resources and to relieve teachers of routine duties. A local person was employed as a cook at each center, and lunches were prepared under the general direction of a home economics supervisor.

As part of a study of community action in an Appalachian community (Knox County, Ky.), the Center for Developmental Change of the University of Kentucky in 1966-69 conducted a study of the effects of the Early Childhood Program on the children attending the kindergartens. It set out to answer two questions:

What effect did participation in the program have on the social adjustment of the child after he reached first grade?

What effect did it have on his academic development at the end of the first grade?

To get answers, we matched children who had been in the program, pupil-by-pupil, with children who had not, ranked by their first-grade teachers as "equal" on *social adjustment* during the 6th month of the school year or as "equal" on *grades* at the end of the first grade. Because there was no other kindergarten program in Knox County, it was easy to find children who had not attended kindergarten.

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This article is based on a part of the study, Community Action in Appalachia, conducted by an interdisciplinary team and directed by Dr. Street under Contract No. 693 between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the University of Kentucky Research Foundation. The University's Center for Developmental Change was the performing agency. For a report on the community action program, see Dr. Street's article, "Community Action in An Appalachian County: Slower But Surer?" in the November-December 1970 issue of Welfare in Review.

There were 399 children enrolled in the program in the 3 years. The study of the effect of the program on *social adjustment* covered children in the first 2 years (1965-66 and 1966-67) of the program; the study of the effect on *grades* covered an additional year, 1968-69. For several reasons many of the 399 children could not be included in the study. For instance, a few were not in the first grade at the time of the study (having been admitted to the program before they were 5 years old); two were the only first graders in a one-room school and had no classmates for matching—a requirement of the study; the parents of some had moved out of the county before they could be reached for interviewing as required by the study; and several were being reared in an orphanage and did not have the kind of home background considered by the study. Ultimately, the matching on the basis of *social adjustment* provided 193 children (for groups in the years 1966-67 and 1967-68); the matching on the basis of *grades* at the end of the first grade provided only 118 children, including the 1968-69 group.

Study rationale and design

The relationship of the cultural environment of the child to his achievement level in school—and his IQ—has in recent years received considerable attention in research and is the subject of debate by sociologists, psychologists, teachers, and others. Regarding the child from the impoverished home, Deutsch observes that "disadvantaged children, who have a meager environmental base for developing cognitive skills, are often unprepared to cope with the formal intellectual and learning demands of the school."[1] Though the variables *environment* and *native ability* are very difficult to sort, the general relationship between the child's home background and his educational growth is documented by many studies—mostly, however, for age groups above the preschool level.

Our study dealt with the relationship of participation in the Knox County Early Childhood Program to variables presumably identified with the supportiveness of the home environment of the preschool child, intellectually and socially, and to his age. The design of the study is unusual in that instead of matching paired groups at a 'starting point," the matching was done at the "finish line;" that is, we matched the child who had participated in the Early Childhood Program with one who had not for *social adjustment* and *grades* in the first grade and then compared the home background and age of each child to determine whether the participating and nonparticipating child differed in "starting points."

In both instances the matched groups were established by pairing each child in first grade who *had* been in the *Early Childhood Program* with one who *had not* but who was of the same sex and in the same classroom under the same teacher during the same year. This requirement, of course, reduced the number who could be included in the study considerably because matches were not available for several.

Matchings for comparisons on the basis of *social adjustment* were accomplished by these actions:

- During February 1967 and February 1968, first-grade teachers who were teaching children from the previous year's Early Childhood Program were asked to rank all of their pupils on the basis of "success in adjustment independently and cooperatively in group activities."[2]

- Each child in the program was paired with the one of the same sex in the same classroom who alternately ranked either immediately above or below him. The purpose here was to match the summed rankings of the two groups as nearly as possible.[3]

- For the grade-matches children were paired on the basis of grades at the end of first grade for the school years 1966-67, 1967-68, and 1968-69. This involved using final grades in reading, writing, and arithmetic, totaling the three grades after assigning values: A=5, B=4, C=3, D=2, and E or F=1. (A pupil, therefore, could score as low as 3 or as high as 15.) Again, boys were matched with boys, girls with girls, in the same class under the same teacher in the same school year, only "exact" matches (equal total scores in the three subjects) being used.

For the comparisons on the basis of *social adjustment* as judged by the teacher, groups for 1966-67 and 1967-68 were combined, first by sex, then indiscriminately. (Using matched pairs kept the combined paired groups balanced, of course.) Paired groups of children in the first grade in 1968-69 were added for the comparison by grades.

The comparisons were aimed at answering this question: Do the home backgrounds or ages of the children who have been in the Early Childhood Program differ significantly from those of the children who were not in the program to whom they are matched?[4]

To get the answers, we compared the scores of the paired groups, applying statistical tests (by a computer-programmed "t" test) to determine the probability that the differences observed did not occur by "accident." We took it that when the probability was 95 out of a hundred (p=.05 or less) the difference in averages of the two groups might be regarded as "real."

The assumptions made in the study were these:

As girls mature ahead of boys, matching should be done by sex.

Teacher judgment in evaluating pupils in a single group was valid for the study but different teachers' judgments of a pupil and individual teacher's judgment of *children in different groups* could *not* be compared.

Because children in the study were necessarily only from a largely rural, mountain culture and only children with parents available for interviewing could be included, the results must be given limited generalization.

The study did not include children whose parents left the area after the program began—to seek a better life elsewhere, presumably—a by-product anticipated for the OEO community action program. Also, the child of an unstable home—one shifted between separated parents or among relatives even within the community—was usually excluded because a change of classroom during the school year removed him from the study.

Differences between boys and girls

The girls did turn out to be ahead of the boys academically—as was assumed in the pairing of match-mates for the study. Of the groups matched on the basis of *social adjustment* but compared on the basis of their *grades* at the end of first grade, the principal differences were these:

Girls who had been in the Early Childhood Program finished first grade with a mean grade "score" of 11.34; boys with a mean grade "score" of only 9.12 (difference significant at $<.01$).[5]

Girls of the matched group finished with a "score" of 10.96; the boys with a "score" of 9.45 (the difference significant at .01).[6]

For the groups matched on the basis of *grades*, the difference in grade achievement between the sexes was again clearly reflected: girls in both groups averaged 10.98; boys 9.39 (probability level of difference, .02). (Of course, the grade-matched groups had identical grade means.) Because rankings for the matching on social adjustment were done by sexes separately, the information provided no comparison on the basis of teacher judgment of social development between the sexes, boys being ranked only in comparison to boys and girls to girls.[7]

The two groups compared

Table 1 interprets the findings in some detail, indicating what tendencies were demonstrated at statistically significant confidence levels.[8]

Where the groups (sexes combined) were matched by *social adjustment* the significant differences were these:

- **The nonparticipating children were a bit older.**
- **The mothers of the nonparticipating children did not read newspapers as frequently as the mothers of the participating children. (Newspaper "consumption" in the home was taken as a measure of general support for educational development of the child.)**

With the groups matched by *grades*, the significant differences were these:

- **The nonparticipating children were, again, older than their matchmates who had been in the program.**
- **Their parents had more schooling and had more income (both in gross or adjusted to size of family or home location), and the breadwinner of the family had a higher level of employment.**

The tendency for the mothers of the nonparticipating children to read newspapers less frequently than the mothers of the participating children did not appear when the two groups were matched by grades.

There were some differences in the effect of the program on boys as compared to girls. Differences at a statistically acceptable probability level did appear between the paired groups of boys that did not appear between the paired groups of girls. In general, however, differences between paired groups tended to run in the same direction for both sexes—that is, for those who had been in the Early Childhood Program to come from homes of greater economic and educational disadvantage and to be younger than those with whom they had been matched. What this amounts to is that boys in the program, more clearly than girls, overcame the handicaps of lower educational and income levels of parents, and of age, to "catch up" with their matchmates. Yet, though the differences between the Early Childhood groups and their matched groups were not always shown to exist at a realistic probability level, especially for the girls, they were, nevertheless, with minor exceptions, generally in the same direction for both sexes.

Neither differences in *years of schooling* parents feel children should have nor *size of family*, two questions put to the parents, emerged as significant in any of the groups. With the notable exception of the advantage of more news consumption in the home, the pattern that does appear suggests that the Early Childhood Program did generate the child's development so that he overcame socioeconomical and cultural handicaps and, in addition, caught up with children measurably older.

The tendency for the Early Childhood Program children, as compared to their "social adjustment" matchmates, to come from homes where

newspaper reading is more common perhaps merits more explanation than this study provides, particularly because no such significant relationship appeared when the groups were matched by grades. Possibly what newspaper reading does take place in the home has a socializing influence on the child so that the Early Childhood Program children who had such an advantage (in addition to the Early Childhood Program experience) were able to "catch up" in social adjustment with children who had not had such experience and

Table 1. Comparisons of home backgrounds and ages of matched groups, Early Childhood Program children as opposed to nonparticipant children, by sex and combined

Variables		Social adjustment (6th month–1966-67 and 1967-68 school years)			Grades at end of first grade (1966-67, 1967-68, 1968-69 school years)		
		Early Childhood group mean	Matching group mean	Level of sig.	Early Childhood group mean	Matching group mean	Level of sig.
Age in months at entering first grade	Boys	74.74	77.00	[1] .005	73.91	76.34	[1] .005
	Girls	74.09	76.80	[1] .001	74.19	74.68	.52
	Both	74.41	76.90	[1] .0003	74.06	75.47	[1] .01
Years of schooling parents feel son and daughter should have[2]	Boys	29.42	30.38	.12	30.41	31.14	.21
	Girls	29.69	29.55	.83	29.81	30.45	.30
	Both	29.55	29.96	.37	30.09	30.78	.11
Years of schooling both parents had	Boys	12.07	12.77	.47	13.29	15.63	[1] .05
	Girls	13.37	13.20	.84	14.45	15.84	.17
	Both	12.73	12.99	.69	13.90	15.74	[1] .02
Employment level of breadwinner[3]	Boys	2.75	3.32	.08	3.07	4.02	[1] .01
	Girls	3.03	3.31	.36	3.42	3.60	.59
	Both	2.89	3.32	.06	3.25	3.80	[1] .05
Newspaper reading index score[4]	Boys	3.39	2.04	[1] .004	3.82	3.05	.25
	Girls	3.06	2.01	[1] .01	3.03	3.27	.69
	Both	3.22	2.03	[1] .0001	3.41	3.17	.60
Gross family income level[5]	Boys	5.25	5.30	.62	5.21	7.13	[1] .0007
	Girls	5.87	6.03	.74	6.15	6.58	.45
	Both	5.56	5.67	.73	5.70	6.84	[1] .005
Number in family	Boys	6.49	6.46	.94	6.11	6.02	.84
	Girls	7.00	6.81	.69	6.79	6.63	.73
	Both	6.75	6.64	.72	6.47	6.34	.70
Adjusted family income level[6]	Boys	2.80	2.74	.84	2.89	3.75	[1] .02
	Girls	2.90	3.19	.38	3.10	3.66	.13
	Both	2.85	2.96	.59	3.00	3.70	[1] .01
N of each group	Boys	69	69		56	56	
	Girls	70	70		62	62	
	Both	139	139		118	118	

[1] *Significant at accepted level of probability. If a one-tailed test were applied, figures* < *.11 would, of course, be regarded as significant.* [2] *Opinion of mother on years of schooling both son and daughter together should have.* [3] *A 7-point scale, from* dependency *to* professional work. *"Irregularly employed"=3. "Regularly employed, unskilled"=4.* [4] *Based on credits for taking one or more newspapers, reading of one or more newspapers, naming parts of papers read, reading another's newspaper, getting news orally regularly from a named person who reads a named newspaper. A score of 2 falls between getting no newspaper and getting no report of one–score 1–and getting news orally from a neighbor–score 3. The score became 4 for one who read one newspaper, with additional score for reading more newspapers or naming sections read.* [5] *Score 5 = $2,000-$2,499 annual income. Score 7 = $3,000-$3,499.* [6] *Allowances made for size of family and location of home. Score 2 for rural family of seven was $2,000-$2,999 annual income; score 3 was $2,000-$3,499.*

whose mothers read newspapers less frequently than the mothers of participating children. Also, perhaps the mothers who were newspaper readers were more likely to enter their children in the program.

Now each of the differences appearing between the Early Childhood Program groups and those to whom they were matched may be small, for the *significance* (probable actuality) of a difference does not in itself reflect the *size* of the difference. Yet the *sum* of those differences, small as each may be, may well constitute a considerable handicap for the poor child to overcome in achieving equality with his social and academic peers. This study provides evidence that, as a group, the children included in the Knox County Early Childhood Program in 1965-69 did so. Perhaps the value of the anti-poverty kindergarten should be weighed against the size of the handicap.

Did program effect fade?

Disappointment has been voiced generally because of the "fade out" of the results of Head Start and other "compensatory" education programs. Several studies suggest that though the measurable effects of such programs may be immediately satisfying, their results are not lasting, that in successive years they are progressively "washed out." Whitman, Brown, and Deutsch—to cite only one such study—found a decline of performance effect in their work with deprived children, once their work was concluded.[9]

Did such a "fade out" occur after first grade for the Knox County Early Childhood group? A part answer can be made here, but only with important reservations.

Table 2 reports mean grade scores in succeeding years for the "remnants" of the groups matched on the basis of grades in the preceding study. The following are important considerations in the interpretations that may be made of these data. Outmigration of the family of either the child who had been in the program or his match-mate excluded them from the report on succeeding years—causing a substantial reduction in the number of children considered in the report of the 3-year program. Those included here, therefore, represent only those children whose families had not left Knox County or who had not lost a match-mate by sickness or death. Also, some children were lost to further study because they and their match-mates were no longer in the same classrooms.

Thus the matched groups compared in second, third, and fourth grades represent *complete pairs* originally matched in grade one who had not been separated by death, illness, migration, or grouping in different classes; that is, they are pairs

Table 2. Mean grade scores for Early Childhood Program and matched group children

Groups	$\bar{X}$ Score grade 1			$\bar{X}$ Score grade 2			$\bar{X}$ Score grade 3			$\bar{X}$ Score grade 4		
	N	Early Childhood	Matched	N	Early Childhood	Matched	N	Early Childhood	Matched	N	Early Childhood	Matched
1965-66 boys	15	10.27	10.27	15	10.40	10.67	13	9.46	9.15	14	9.36	10.21
1966-67 boys	19	9.42	9.42	19	10.11	9.37	18	9.22	9.67			
1967-68 boys	14	8.79	8.79	14	10.14	10.71						
Combined boys	48	9.5	9.5	48	10.21	10.17	31	9.32	9.45			
1965-66 girls	21	10.90	10.90	21	12.04	11.67	17	11.06	11.29	18	10.67	11.11
1966-67 girls	20	11.0	11.0	18	12.17	11.83	15	12.0	11.27			
1967-68 girls	17	11.29	11.29	17	12.0	11.41						
Combined girls	58	11.05	11.05	56	12.07	11.64	32	11.50	11.28			
Boys and girls	106	10.35	10.35	104	11.21	10.96	63	10.43	10.38	32	10.09	[1] 10.72

[1] *Scores translated into grade averages in the three subjects (reading, writing, and arithmetic) would be 3=F, 6=D, 9=C, 12=B, 15=A. Score of 10.72, for instance, is above C but below B.*

originally matched in first grade when they had the same grade scores and were in the same class under the same teacher. (Again, "scores" for reading, writing, and numbers were totaled—A=5, B=4, C=3, D=2, E or F=1—so that the lowest score would be 3, the highest 15.)

Table 2 shows that no significant differences appeared between children in the Early Childhood groups and the children to whom they were originally matched as they moved through grades two, three, and (for a few) four. (Although the matter is obvious, we actually tested the null hypothesis for each comparison.) Further, no substantial decline appeared in grade-achievement levels for either group. The results, therefore, do not support the findings of other researchers that "fade out" is the prevailing phenomenon. At least it was no greater for one group than for the other in our study.

IT IS WORTH CONSIDERING, however, whether the theory that the effects of short programs fade is actually sound. (It is anticipated that when a child from a disadvantaged background, for instance, gets special help for a period to bring him up to his peers, he will slip back if he continues in the same disadvantaged environment.) Knox County is now operating several programs of remedial and compensatory education in its schools that were launched about the time the children who were in the Early Childhood Program came into the county schools. Perhaps these programs are preventing the "fade out" commonly observed elsewhere.

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[1] *Martin Deutsch, "Some Psychological-Social Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged,"* Teachers College Record, *Jan. 1966, p. 261.*

[2] *We are indebted to the first-grade teachers of Knox County for their generosity and graciousness in doing this not inconsiderable task.*

[3] *Some impasses were met; for instance, two or more of the same group were ranked consecutively. Consequently, choices were made "above" or "below" to balance the rankings as nearly as possible. The groups to which both sexes were matched on the basis of social adjustment in each case differed in mean rankings by less than .50—the participating boys having a mean rank .28 greater (lower) and the participating girls a mean rank .35 smaller (higher) than their match-mates.*

Matched pairs of children were selected child by child, not simply to balance the total rankings between groups but also to be able to drop the match-mate of any "sample" child who had to be discarded so that the balance between groups could be preserved.

[4] *The Early Childhood groups remained the same except where no match-mates were available. Their* social adjustment *match-mates and their* grade *match-mates were, however, two different groups, although several pairings were, of course, of the same children.*

[5] *The social-matched and grade-matched groups were not identical for either the participant or nonparticipant groups of children because, as explained, matchings were not always possible. Consequently, some had to be omitted from the study.*

[6] *A score of 9=C average (in reading, writing, and arithmetic combined). A score of 12=B average.*

[7] *This omission may well be regarded as an unfortunate oversight by the researchers.*

[8] *The null hypothesis tested was this: there will be no difference between the two groups. Accordingly, a two-tailed test was applied, though there was some reason to assume the influence of the program would be in one direction. Note the directions of the variable influences, even of those not shown to have "acceptable" levels of significance.*

[9] *Martin Whitman, Bert R. Brown, and Martin Deutsch, "Some Effects of Social Class and Race on Children's Language and Intellectual Abilities" (New York: Institute for Developmental Studies, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College), undated, p. 30. (mimeo.)*

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BOOK NOTES

The NCLC's Fight Against Child Labor

Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America, *by Walter I. Trattner (Chicago: Quadrangle Books), 1970, 319 pp., $10.*

THE GILDED AGE is known as a time of industrial growth, settlement of the trans-Mississippi West, and a steady trend toward increasing urbanization. Accomplishments of many kinds were there for all to see; the Nation was getting bigger and noisier, fairly bursting at the seams. Americans were busy mining coal, making steel, building railroads to span the continent, chopping down the magnificent stands of virgin timber, and growing crops to feed a steadily increasing population. Where else had a land been so blessed?

But it was the radical rhetoric of the Populist orators that called attention to the fact that *all* was not well in the land. Corruption at the polling places, an alleged alliance between big business and the political leaders, rigged railroad rates, and other problems were aired at whistle stops, county fairs, and wherever a crowd could be had. The Progressive reformers took up the standard at the turn of the century and continued to do battle by giving greater emphasis to the problems of industrialization and urbanization.

One aspect of the Progressive movement was the formation of the National Child Labor Committee in 1904. There were no uniform standards for the protection of working children at the time, and exploitation was widespread. Children toiled in textile mills, tenement sweatshops, canneries, and mines, and the like for long hours at pitifully low wages. Muckrakers focused their work on this vexing problem as they had on other social problems and awakened the Nation's conscience to the fact that children were being robbed of their childhood. Actually, the era was characterized by a broad child welfare movement, including societies to aid children, juvenile courts, the playground movement, and aid to expectant mothers. Professor Trattner has chosen one aspect of this child welfare program, the creation of a committee to deal with child labor. He insists that his book is neither an exhaustive treatment of the attempts to reform child labor nor a complete history of the National Child Labor Committee. But it does contain an abundance of material about one of the more urgent of the Nation's social problems.

The well-known reformers are woven into this story of child labor reform, beginning with Florence Kelley, Robert Hunter, John Spargo, Lillian D. Wald, Felix Adler, Homer Folks, and Edgar G. Murphy. From its first meeting on April 15, 1904, the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) decided to follow the policy of research and investigation by experts to produce the data that would eventually influence the necessary legislation. This is the "factual generation" of social workers described by Robert H. Bremner (*From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States,* New York: University Press, 1956, pp. 140-63). Samuel Lindsay began service as general secretary with the able assistance of Owen R. Lovejoy and Alexander J. McKelway. None of these people took issue with the system in America *per se;* that is, all were reformers who believed that the system could be made to respond if the right amount of pressure was brought to bear. They did not have ideas about reshaping the social order. "In short, the Committee stood for pure and simple reformism" (p. 67).

McKelway, Lovejoy, and Lindsay began their work by making preliminary observatory trips to locate areas that would require eventual detailed investigation. Their first sustained attack was aimed at child labor in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, where they did gain an initial victory in 1909 with the passage of a 16-year-age limit law. Their efforts in the glass industry, their next target, took much longer for success.

The Committee suffered from internal dissension in its early years over a Federal child labor law. Edgar G. Murphy resigned from the Committee during the feud, even though it eventually adopted the position he supported—that of opposing the passage of a Federal child labor law. Opposition to a Federal law, however, did not deter the NCLC from supporting the legislation necessary for the creation of the Federal Children's Bureau in 1912.

Professor Trattner hails the creation of the Children's Bureau as a turning point in child labor reform.

Support for the Children's Bureau led to an eventual review by the NCLC of its policy regarding the role of the Federal Government. Social workers were increasingly looking to the Federal Government for help in solving problems, especially because the legislation passed by the States varied in quality and enforcement. Hence, the NCLC supported the first Federal child labor law (the Keating-Owen bill), signed by President Wilson on September 1, 1916. A rift developed between McKelway, representing the Committee, and the Children's Bureau over enforcement of the law. Unfortunately, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Hammer v Dagenhart* declared the law unconstitutional. A subsequent attempt to use the taxing power was dealt with similarly in the case of *Bailey v Drexel* Furniture Company.

The Supreme Court decisions touched off a campaign designed to amend the Constitution. If Federal legislation could not achieve the goal sought by reformers, then a Constitutional amendment seemed to be the only alternative. Trattner provides a concise picture of the opposition that developed to the proposed amendment. Along with the National Association of Manufacturers, he describes the testimony of Mary G. Kilbreth, president of the Women's Patriot Publishing Company, who asserted that the amendment was a socialist and communist idea to acquire State control of children. Much of the opposition came from the South in the name of State's rights and the Red Scare, and from the cotton mill interests. Defeated on this front, the NCLC celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1929 by pointing to other solid achievements such as minimum age and hour laws in a number of States.

The opposition to a child labor amendment continued during the Depression with many of the same arguments repeated in different forms. Gains were made under the N.R.A. Codes until voided by the Supreme Court, but the provisions in the Fair Labor Standards Act were lasting. Perhaps the strongest provision of the act was that its administration was given to the Children's Bureau. That agency was diligent in caring for the needs of children as provided by the act.

In 1954 a celebration at the New York Commodore Hotel hailed the NCLC's 50th anniversary. *Life* ran a special feature of Lewis Hine photographs of working children, and congratulations poured in from all sides. General Secretary Gertrude Folks Zimand acknowledged that gains had been made but called for even more efforts to improve conditions for all children.

Perhaps the weakness of this book is that it attempts to do too much. The last two chapters are too sketchy, and overall it lacks an adequate synthetic recapitulation. It should be said, however, that Professor Trattner cautions the reader against expecting a definitive history. The footnoting is concise and helpful, and researchers will welcome his "Notes on Sources" at the end.

Crusade for the Children is well-written, and Professor Trattner has made a valuable contribution toward understanding social welfare history. His descriptions are not overly emotional, even though he has dealt with an emotion-laden topic. The Lewis Hine photographs are an eloquent testimonial of the horrible exploitation of children in earlier years. We can hope that this book and others like it will prevent us from letting the mistakes of the past reoccur, for our children deserve a better fate.

JAMES E. JOHNSON

Jacksonian Philanthropy

The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic, *by David J. Rothman (Boston: Little, Brown and Company), 1971, 376 pp., $13.50.*

LIKE OTHER KINDS OF KNOWLEDGE, history involves an interpretation as well as a record of facts. Academic historians have, for the most part, centered on facts about power and given them the familiar form of political, diplomatic, and military history. They usually try to relate politics to economic and social background, and in the 20th century they have systematically analyzed these features. Other institutional developments have often seemed autonomous and narrowly administrative, not closely related to the mainstream of historical speculation. The most systematic large scale investigations in the history of American social welfare, for example the University of Chicago poor law studies of the 1930's, were fatally weak in their lack of general interest.

The first merit of *The Discovery of the Asylum* is that Rothman crystallizes a concept of a historical development or phase and indicates its significance for both general and institutional history. His concept may be mistaken or misleading, but it is the basis of a coherent argument and an authentic vision of the period. It takes facts, many of them familiar,

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Dr. Johnson is in the Department of History, Bethel College (St. Paul, Minn.). Our May-June 1971 issue carries a review by him of *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, Volume I (1600-1865),* by Robert H. Bremner (Harvard University Press).

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and suggests new relationships among them.

The general historical interest of Rothman's book lies in its bearing on the interpretation of "Jacksonian democracy," a fruitful idea in organizing the events of the period 1820-60. Early speculation about the period was political, intended to explain the election and administration of President Andrew Jackson. These events were related to the extension of the suffrage, the decline of the aristocracy, and the emergence of the West and the industrial working class as political interests. One remarkable feature of the period, however, was the host of reforms that were agitated, many going far beyond politics, to improve diet, dress, manners, education, and land ownership; to oppose intemperance, vice, and slavery; and to establish utopian communities. Some of these reforms sought to provide directly for dependent, defective, and delinquent persons and are central to a history of social welfare. They include asylums of various sorts, schools for the handicapped, and new types of correctional institutions.

Historians first took these enthusiastic ideas as exhibits of the humanitarian temper of the time, its sentimental identification with the unfortunate, its concern for human dignity and equality, and its notions of perfectibility and progress. More recently, historians have noticed a darker side of the movement. Reformers often feared anarchy, and their benevolence was aimed frankly at social control of a troublesome lower class. This was particularly true of those who opposed intemperance and vice. The advocates of such reforms were often associated with the evangelical revivals so prominent at the time. (The most vehement reformers also viewed slaveholding as a personal sin.) From this perspective humanitarian sympathy sometimes looked like paternalistic social control and benevolence like moral fanaticism.

Rothman adds a new dimension to this line of thought by separating from the various reforms those proposing institutional treatment of some sort. Despite their distinctive purpose and spirit, he observes three common features among them: they came into vogue about the same time, their rationale and practical arrangements were similar, and they endured despite failure. His first contribution is to identify these coincidences, something no one had done before (he labels them the "discovery of the asylum"), and to analyze and interpret them in their specific historical context, without relying on the interpretations built primarily on studies of other reforms such as temperance and antislavery.

His story begins in the colonial period. There were jails then, but they differed in character and spirit from the penitentiaries that took form in the 19th century. Almshouses, insane asylums, and children's institutions were rare and even less like the institutions built in large numbers in the Jacksonian years. Historians of these institutions have assumed that their number increased because of the increase in population. But Rothman argues impressively that colonial ideas about deviance and pauperism discouraged institutional provision. The colonists expected people to fall into a social hierarchy, with many in the lower ranks; they expected many people to be sinful and many to suffer from accidents, sickness, and madness. Inequality, deviance, and suffering—which seemed to the Jacksonians to be social problems, open to reform—they regarded as dispositions of Providence, as a discipline of the spirit, and as occasions to exercise Christian benevolence. In that early perspective, informal ad hoc arrangements seemed perfectly reasonable.

This general view was undermined, Rothman believes, by changes in social structure and ideology in the decades 1780-1820. He refers to the apparent increase in social and geographic mobility and the growing secularism of social thought. We usually associate these changes with a hopeful affirmation of democracy and progress, but Rothman believes that in the dawn of the new order men were much more apprehensive, weighing the hope of progress against a loss of bearings (the hierarchical order of society, the Providential stability of affairs) that opened the way to anarchy and anomie.

So Rothman supports the impression, which has been gaining ground among historians, that the Jacksonian years had their dark side, but

he gives it new substance and some qualification. People in the years 1820-60 were torn between profound hope for and fear of the trend of events and between traditional religious views and secular and scientific views of social problems. The "discovery of the asylum" was a response to the tensions that these conflicting views created. The advocates of penitentiaries, insane asylums, almshouses, and children's institutions feared that increasing social disorganization was one source of the misfortunes they dealt with: the family, the church, the state weren't doing their jobs but were, instead, overlooking laxity and allowing the temptations that encouraged wrongdoing or even madness. Yet people optimistically believed that a carefully controlled environment and proper guidance could correct the fault and even be a model for social reorganization. In an environmental explanation of deviance and in a faith in strict environmental control and right-thinking governance within an institution lay, Rothman believes, the key to the similarities among the various enterprises he describes.

His well-documented emphasis on the reformers' environmentalism and their criticism of the disorder and the disorganizing trends in society qualifies the emphasis on personal and individual, as opposed to social, responsibility that historians have usually found in the social thought of the period. Of course, both aspects were there, as Rothman observes.

In fact, the threats to social order were not so grave as his protagonists thought; in these early years people were taking, Rothman believes, a sentimental and mistaken view of the simplicity and order of the past. In any case, by the post-Civil War period the dominant group of Americans had learned to live with a fluid society and to celebrate its opportunities. They joined a scientific interest in hereditary influences on behavior to notions of moral and environmental influences. Meanwhile, their original hopes that the new institutions would rehabilitate their inmates were soon disappointed, and the custodial, punitive, and deterrent functions of institutions came readily to the fore. The dominant groups in society were willing to accept the defeat of their ideal and to compromise: institutions would remain because, increasingly, they were filled with people of decidedly proletarian and alien origins. In this way they reflected the new and deep division of the urban-industrial community and blocked out for a time the possibilities of other extramural provisions like those that have grown in importance in the 20th century.

Why is it that although there is a substantial literature on the development of correctional institutions, mental hospitals, poor relief, and children's institutions, no one had previously noticed the coincidences on which Rothman builds his argument? One reason is that simpler ad hoc explanations suffice. If you want to explain why States built prisons for men sentenced to hard labor and in time changed the living and working arrangements in them, you don't have to look past the administrative problems of keepers. The rise of moral treatment, indoor relief, and children's institutions are easy to explain as administrative modifications of established practices, not radical departures. Almshouses were intended to do away with the auctioning of the poor, for example, as well as to serve as an alternative to outdoor relief. The various special institutions may be viewed as administrative efforts to segregate from the jail or poorhouse certain kinds of inmates who seemed especially troublesome or promising. In every case Americans borrowed ideas from Europe; they felt that they were responding to problems they shared with Bentham, Pinel, Tuke, Colquhoun, and Chalmers. America was more prosperous, its citizens more likely to fall victim to derangement or violence, perhaps, but these were differences of degree in processes America shared with Europe. The similarity among the institutions may be explained as a type of rationalization common to European monasteries, factories, and schools as well as agencies serving the victims of social disorganization.

BUT IF ROTHMAN seems to overemphasize the uniqueness of the American response, he also seems to overgeneralize it. He discusses changes in the American social structure in general terms like "social mobility" and "fluidness." He barely mentions or analyzes a number of structural changes that have a direct bearing on welfare problems. One is the decline in indenture, which had large consequences for the situation of immigrant workers and adolescents, two likely sources of social problems. Another is the dislocation of the artisan class, which created quite specific interests related to welfare institutions—to convict labor, for example. I noted only one reference to the spoils system, a very prominent feature of Jacksonian political life that much influenced the administration of public agencies and popular attitudes toward them. In discussing poor relief he ignores the continued practical importance of voluntary charity as a substitute for both outdoor and indoor relief under public auspicies, and the persistence of the most sentimental sort of charity in the face of rationalizers and organizers. He writes as if the

frontier, the rural communities, and the big sea and river ports had the same problems and interests. In fact the differences were important and central because local initiative, whether public or private, was the rule in the years he is discussing, and particular decisions should be analyzed in the context of local situations. My own belief is that these local situations can be analyzed into a few typical processes and conflicts of interest, and that welfare institutions are better interpreted so than in the categories he uses. Certainly this is true of the post-Civil War years, on which my study, *Charity and Corrections in New Jersey: A History of State Welfare Institutions* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1967), concentrates. In any case, it is the merit of Rothman's book that to criticize it pushes one toward alternative interpretations and another look at the evidence.

JAMES LEIBY

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SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

Administration on Aging

Applications, cases approved, and cases discontinued for public assistance, July-September 1970. Report A-9 (7/9/70), 3 pp. text and 7 tables. Presents data, by State, on the numbers of applications received, pending, and disposed of, and on cases approved for assistance, July-Sept. 1970.

Let's end isolation. Publication No. 129, June 1971, 43 pp. Offers information on service programs and opportunities for the elderly in some communities.

Assistance Payments Administration

Quality control in public assistance: supplemental statistical guide. Report No. 11, Aug. 1971, 45 pp. Contains recommended guide material relating to statistical phases of the quality control system.

Community Services Administration

Services to AFDC families. Publication No. (SRS) 72-23002, July 1971, 137 pp. Presents the second annual report of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Congress on services to families receiving aid to families with dependent children.

National Center for Social Statistics

Child care arrangements of AFDC recipients under the work incentive program as of the last day of the quarter ended March 31, 1971. Report E-4 (3/31/71), 6 tables. Presents data on the child care arrangements made by mothers enrolled in the WIN program and on the number of mothers who could not be referred to the program because child care was not available.

Public assistance statistics, May 1971. Report A-2 (5/71), 20 pp. Presents data on services provided to public assistance receipients in May 1971.

Public assistance statistics, June 1971. Report A-2 (6/71), 20 pp. Presents data on services provided to public assistance recipients in June 1971.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Office of Research and Statistics

Health insurance for the aged: amounts reimbursed by State, 1969, by Eugene C. Carter, Division of Health Insurance Studies. Oct. 19, 1971, Report No. HI-32, 30 pp. Summarizes data on the amount of health insurance payments during 1969 by region, division, and State.

Health insurance for the aged: number of hospital and extended care facility admissions by State, fiscal year 1970, by Charles Waldhauser, Division of Health Insurance Studies. Sept. 1971, Report No. HI-30, 15 pp. Lists the number of hospital admissions under Medicare during fiscal year 1970.

Selected data on charge patterns in short-stay general hospitals under Medicare, Division of Health Insurance Studies. Sept. 1971, Report No. HI-31, 15 pp. Presents data on the relation between room and board and ancillary services under Medicare, according to hospital size, control, and geographic location.

Some factors related to retroactive entitlement, by Carol Zuckert, Division of Retirement and Survivor Studies. Aug. 1971, Report No. 5, 10 pp. text and 3 tables. Examines the

features of the social security retirement test that may make it advantageous to claim retroactive entitlement.

NON-GOVERNMENT

Build me a mountain: youth, poverty, and the creation of new settings, by Isidore Ira Goldenberg. MIT Press (77 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139), 1971, 498 pp., $10. Presents case studies of a New Haven residential center for young people.

Child abuse legislation in the 1970's, by Vincent DeFrancis. The American Humane Association, Children's Division (P.O. Box 1266, Denver, Colo. 80201), 1970, 134 pp. Describes child abuse reporting legislation in each State. (Additional copies are available from the Office of Public Affairs, Community Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Washington, D.C. 20201.)

Children & youth in America: a documentary history, Robert H. Bremner, ed. Harvard University Press (79 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138), Vol. 2, 1866-1932, 1971, 735 pp., $20. Traces the history of the Nation's provisions for its children and young people from the end of the Civil War to the New Deal.

The emerging personality: infancy through adolescence, by George E. Gardner, Delacorte Press (750 3d Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017), 1970, 292 pp., $6.95. Presents the views of a child psychiatrist and 14 mothers of various backgrounds who participated in a 4-month seminar on problems of child rearing related to personality development.

Home life: a story of old age, by Dorothy Rabinowitz and Yedida Nilesen. The MacMillan Company (866 3d Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017), 1971, 192 pp., $5.95. Explores the societal and cultural difficulties of life for old persons and the difficulties that make it necessary to place them in homes.

How they fared in adoption: a follow-up study, by Benson Jaffee and David Fanshel. Columbia University Press (440 W. 110th St., New York, N.Y. 10025), 1970, 370 pp., $13.50. Reports on a research study of the life adjustment of a hundred adoptive parents.

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Preventing chronic dependency: an evaluation of public-private collaborative intervention with first-time public assistance families, by Edward J. Mullen and others. Institute of Welfare Research, Community Service Society of New York (105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y. 10010), 1970, 289 pp., $2.50. Demonstrates the effectiveness of a collaborative method of preventing individual and family disorganization and of helping families improve their economic, psychological, and social functioning.

The relationship between administrative activities and hospital performance: an empirical study of the relation between managerial techniques and organizational performance in 30 medium-sized community general hospitals, by Duncan Neuhauser. University of Chicago, Center for Health Administration Studies (5720 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637), 1971, 115 pp., Research Series 29, $3.50. Studies the effect of different hospital management methods on costs and quality.

Readings in adolescent development and behavior, John P. Hill and Jev Shelton, eds. Prentice-Hall (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07623), 1971, 446 pp., $7.50. Presents selections of contemporary empirical and theoretical writings aimed at understanding adolescent behavior and development.

Social program evaluation, by Tony Tripodi and others. F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc. (401 W. Irving Park Rd., Itasca, Ill. 60143), 1971, 137 pp., $5. Provides a guideline for making decisions about program evaluation.

Social welfare: charity to justice, by John M. Romanyshyn. Random House (30 W. 60th St., New York, N.Y. 10003), 1971, 450 pp., $8.95. Deals with issues that affect social work practice and examines social welfare policy.

The State and the poor, by Samuel H. Beer and Richard E. Barringer. Winthrop Publications (17 Dunster St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138), 1970, 329 pp., $4.50. Reports on a study by several Harvard University faculty members about what Massachusetts is doing for the poor, and what it could do.

A study of 814 retired professors in Michigan, by Leonard Gernant. Western Michigan University, Division of Continuing Education (Kalamazoo, Mich. 49001), 1971, 62 pp., $2.50. Presents information about a group of retired teachers from public and private colleges and universities in Michigan.

The unemployed: a social-psychological portrait, by Donald E. Tiffany and others. Prentice-Hall (Englewood Cliffs, N.Y. 07632), 1970, 180 pp., $5.95. Studies the psychological characteristics of the unemployed and makes evaluations of and recommendations for vocational rehabilitation.

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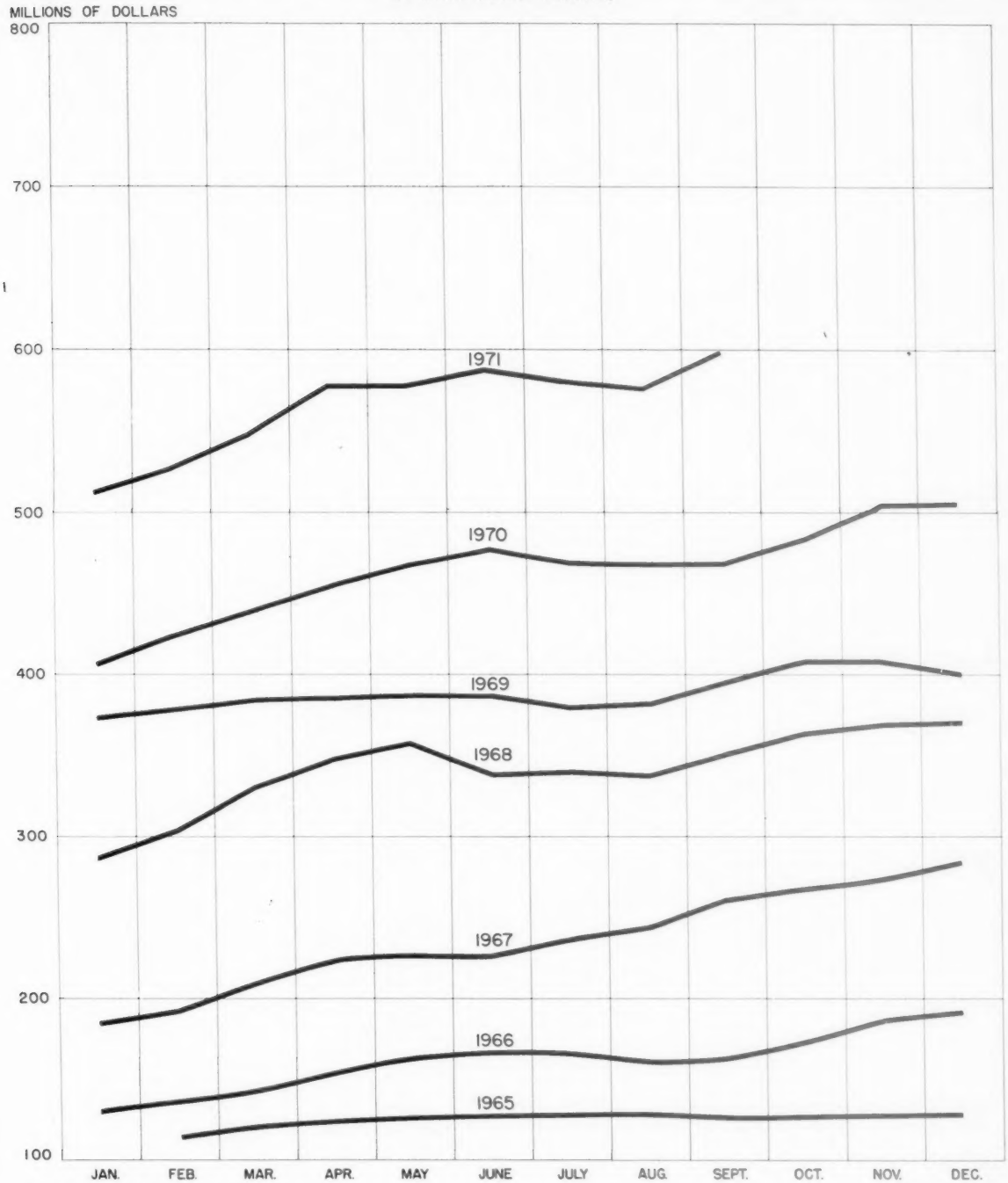
(3 MONTH MOVING AVERAGES)



1/ INCLUDES GENERAL ASSISTANCE.

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